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REVOLUTION

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Front cover: FRELIMO guerrillas and militia take over the post of Muidumbe, after expelling the Portuguese troops.

Inside back cover: The front cover of a poetry book edited by FRELIMO, in the Portuguese language, with poems written by FRELIMO militants.

THE STRUGGLE THAT KNOWS NO FRONTIERS

From 20th August to 5th October of this year, comrade Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, accompanied by comrades Sebastiao Mabote, Pedro Juma, Tomé Eduardo, Alberto Sande and Sérgio Vieira, visited the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In each country visited our delegation had the opportunity for frank and serious discussions with its leaders. Thus in China our President and delegation met for five hours with Comrade Chou en Lai, the Prime Minister. In Korea Comrade Kim il Sung, General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Korea and Prime Minister, also held an extended discussion with us, while in Vietnam we were received for important talks with Comrade Pham Van Dong, who spoke on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and of the Government. In addition, during our stay in Peking, our delegation had talks with representatives of the Royal Government of the National Union of Cambodia as well as representatives of the National United Front; the Prime Minister of Cambodia and President of the Political Bureau of F.U.N.K. led this Cambodian delegation. And in Hanoi we also had conversations with comrades from the Patriotic Front of Laos.

What were the objectives of this trip? What lessons did we draw from it, and what were its results?

To begin with, the three countries which we visited, China, Korea and Vietnam (as well as Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam with whose representatives we discussed) live, like our own country, in direct confrontation with imperialism. The American imperialists have launched criminal wars against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Using their various stooges and

agents they occupy the Chinese province of Taiwan, the southern part of Korea and attempt to maintain their occupation of South Vietnam. All six countries which we have mentioned either have had to liberate themselves by means of a protracted peoples' war (as in the case of China and the northern parts of Korea and Vietnam) or they are still fighting to expel American imperialism from their countries (as is true of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam). Thus together, they embody a very rich experience both of fighting against several imperialisms (French, Japanese and American) and of undertaking national reconstruction in periods of war and peace. And through it all each of these countries is engaged in the building of a new society without exploitation of man by man, a society which exemplifies the power of the people. Our first objective, therefore, was simply to learn from this experience of our comrades in arms, while also transmitting to them knowledge of our own seven years of experience, years not only of war but also of national reconstruction, of building a new society, of installing a people's power.

A second objective was to assure them of our solidarity. For when such countries confront imperialism, whether it is through overt military conflict or not, they become targets not only for the grosser sorts of crimes — bombings with hundreds of planes, destruction of villages, granaries and shambas, countless massacres — but also for all kinds of diverse manoeuvres to confuse the masses, divide the people and camouflage the nature of the struggle. One such manoeuvre, for example, is the creation of puppet governments shored up by anti-communist propaganda; others could easily be cited. Like us, therefore, these comrades need solidarity, need moral, political, diplomatic and material support. It was in

light of this realisation that we presented them with our modest contribution by assuring them of our solidarity, of our moral, political and diplomatic support. We told them about our struggle which is a contribution to their own, and assured them also that their struggle in turn helps and stimulates us in our efforts. And by doing this, by learning with them, by telling them about our experience, we further reinforce these very links of friendship, solidarity and camaraderie.

A third objective was equally important. For some of these countries, China and Korea, have already overcome great difficulties and find themselves in advanced phases of economic and social development. These countries not only underwent sufferings caused by traditional and imperialist oppression similar to our own, but also experienced the bitter difficulties of war. As a result they understand our needs and aspirations. Moreover, they remain solidly committed to the destruction of imperialism, which still threatens them and occupies part of their territories — the Province of Taiwan, the southern part of Korea. Such countries have decided to make sacrifices to support our struggle. We sought therefore in our discussions to explain the phase in which our struggle finds itself so that their support meet most directly the needs of our present situation.

Such were our objectives. If we wanted to summarise briefly the lessons which we learnt from our trip, we ought to present the following points:

1. All those countries have had an experience of imperialist exploitation as painful as our own. Nor is their experience forgotten: the enemy is still present. With this in mind, the political parties in each country take particular care to educate the new generations in order to keep alive the spirit of internationalist solidarity.
2. In order to successfully fight the enemy these countries have united the whole people within very large fronts where all patriotic forces are co-ordinated.
3. Revolutionary ideology is the main instrument for uniting the masses, for correctly defining the enemy, for establishing priorities, for distributing tasks.
4. In applying the correct line, and in working amongst the masses, cadres are the decisive factor.
5. The revolutionary army is the main instrument for fulfilling political tasks. The army is composed of the most conscious and firmest elements of the people.

6. Armed struggle is continuously combined with political and diplomatic struggle. Although it is armed struggle which will lead to victory, the situation will define which form of struggle must take priority in any given moment.

7. Militants, both within and outside of the army, continuously combine combat (armed, political, ideological and diplomatic combat) with study (political, technical, scientific, cultural) and production.

8. Man is the decisive factor of victory. Moreover, in order to win it is necessary to rely on one's own forces. Therefore, the freeing of the creative energy of the masses is a crucial preoccupation.

9. Intense revolutionary discipline is a fundamental instrument for raising the level of the work. Since such discipline stems from revolutionary consciousness, it promotes a great spirit of sacrifice and determination.

10. Where there is revolutionary activity, the enemy tries always to infiltrate, to sabotage the revolution. Sustained vigilance is therefore necessary.

11. Vigilance is to be extended to ourselves as well, for war cannot be combined with comfort, nor revolution with corruption. Comfort and corruption are enemy agents in our midst.

12. International solidarity is very important. We must value it highly and act correctly so that to deserve and respect it.

These twelve points, although condensed, summarise the lessons which we learnt from the experience of our comrades. They are not new to us, but they do confirm our experience. Most importantly, they serve to reinforce our present political orientation and encourage us further along the path which we have chosen.

Finally, it can be affirmed that our mission was a very great success from all points of view. Unfortunately the written word is inadequate and cannot serve easily to describe the warmth and friendship with which we were received by our comrades-in-arms in the countries which we visited. But the foundation of such friendship will be apparent from what has been said above and it is of fundamental importance. For it springs from a basic unity: as we fight, arms in hand, comrades in other parts of the world who have also taken strength from their own hard battle against imperialism, come to respect us, to value the sacrifices we have been making, and to work with us. Thus, increasingly, we combat together.



WAR COMMUNIQUE

NIASSA:

Last October the Portuguese colonialists attempted an offensive in Niassa province. Aiming at taking advantage of the dry season which was ending, they disembarked troops from helicopters in the regions of Macaloge, Metangula and Mwembe, particularly in the zones of Caloloma, Chissindo, Chitope and Chityale. The disembarkment took place on the 14th and 17th October. The enemy was in our zone for 17 days during which time they were constantly attacked by our artillery, infantry and sabotage units. On the 30th October they were forced to leave after about 60 of them had been killed, 13 vehicles blown up, 1 camp destroyed and another damaged and 3 bridges sabotaged.

The camp which was destroyed was situated between Nova Coimbra and Metangula and its purpose was to control the «protected village» of Laine. The strength of the camp's garrison was one platoon. It was attacked and destroyed by our forces on the 14th October.

The other camp was attacked by FRELIMO guerrillas and partially destroyed on the 16th October. It was situated in Mbandeze, between Vila Cabral and Maniamba.

The bridges which were destroyed spanned the river Luambala, on the road between Litunde and Marrupa, and river Lussessi on the roads Lunho — Nova Coimbra and Nova Coimbra — Metangula.

Constant ambushes and sabotage operations were carried out by FRELIMO guerrillas, sowing confusion in the ranks of the Portuguese troops, weakening and demoralising them, and finally forcing them to retreat.

During their attempted offensive, the Portuguese killed 2 civilians, wounded 3 and arrested some others. Besides this, as is their custom, they brutalised the population whenever they had an opportunity — torturing prisoners, burning huts, destroying the people's granaries, etc. These acts of brutality, contrary to their

A pathetic memorial to Portuguese military strategy in Mozambique lies in the dust of Cabo Delgado Province, not far from the River Ruvuma. Hundreds of empty beer cans bear silent witness to the despair of the soldiers of the Ng'angolo post, who pulled out last September after continuous FRELIMO attacks. The post they left behind was a squalid, underground encampment, where the 180 soldiers led a rat-like existence among their own filth. The Portuguese army command was so worried about the morale of these men that it flew in huge shipments of beer and wine in an effort to take the beleaguered soldiers' minds off their misery.

aim, contributed to reinforcing the people's determination to wipe out Portuguese colonialism in our country. On the other hand, the defeat the enemy suffered boosted higher the morale of the people, demonstrating to them the weakness of the enemy and convincing them more strongly of the certainty of our final victory.

In other operations prior to the Portuguese «offensive», FRELIMO fighters attacked 2 posts, destroyed 5 military lorries and 3 caterpillars, and killed 30 enemy soldiers. Most of these actions took place in the zones of Maniamba, Njence Mountain, Ng'ongwe, Macaloge,

Vila Cabral and Mbandeze. The posts were in Lunho and in the former Mission of St. António de Unango. In addition 4 bridges were blown up on the road Maniamba – Metangula.

TETE:

Our progress in this province has been confirmed by the Portuguese themselves who have announced the deaths of a number of their officers, bridges, trains and vehicles blown up, workers in the Cahora Bassa dam killed by mines, airports shelled, etc. The enemy have been unable to conceal our operations, because they take place in or near urban centres and are therefore immediately known by the whole population in the area.

During July – September FRELIMO fighters attacked the enemy posts of Armando, Chicuwe, Chintunkulo, Caprita, Chipera, Cachomba, Fraquino and Chintolo, and the shop of a Sr. Ferreira, near the village of Chief Cachombo. Our most important success was scored when we attacked the post of Chipera on the night of 24th September, eve of Mozambique National Day, where more than 2 companies (350 soldiers) were stationed. Nineteen of the 24 buildings of the post were destroyed, including the transmission centre, the secretariat, the soldiers' mess, one shop and the barracks. All the other posts were also badly damaged, and many enemy soldiers killed.

Ambushes on the Zambezi River.

FRELIMO guerrillas have sunk 6 more patrol boats: on the 10th August, in an ambush mounted on the Zambezi river in the zone between Bakwali and Mague, two boats were sunk. Each boat was transporting 8 soldiers: all 16 were killed. On the 23rd August, another ambush in the zone between Chicua and Kakwali destroyed two patrol boats. A third boat managed to escape and returned to Chicua. All 13 soldiers who were in the sunken boats were killed. On the 15th of September one boat was sunk when going from Cachombo to Mague. On the 20th of September, another ambush on the Zambezi River resulted in the destruction of another boat going from Nhenda to Chicua, and its 6-man crew wiped out.

In 71 sabotage operations in July – September, our comrades killed more than 200 Portuguese soldiers and blew up 57 vehicles, including 2 tractors. The most important operations took place in Nyanya, Casula, Nyaluwiro, Fingoe, Cahora

Bassa, Bene, Furancungo, Salula, Uncanha, Chalimbane, Mague, Chicua, Estima.

We launched 34 major ambushes against Portuguese troops. In these actions more than 130 soldiers were killed and 30 vehicles were destroyed.

One aircraft and one helicopter shot down

On the 17th of September 2 aircraft bombed the zones of Bwanda and Khalilamo. Flying very low they were easy targets for our fighters who shot down one of them. From the wreckage we salvaged two sub-machine guns and saved parts for identification. All 4 of the crew were killed.

On the 6th of July, our comrades ambushed a bus going from Cahora Bassa to Tete. It was carrying soldiers and civilian workers from Cahora Bassa Dam. It was set ablaze by our bazookas and many of the passengers were killed. The others fled in panic.

Two days later, on the 8th of July, 2 helicopters flew over the zone where the ambush had taken place. When they were about to disembark troops, our fighters fired at them. One of them burst into flames but managed to fly until it was near the Portuguese post of Estima where it crash-landed.



CABO DELGADO:

The enemy is attempting to subvert our zones. They are sending African agents disguised as FRELIMO fighters to terrorise the people. Many of these traitors have been caught by FRELIMO and taken before the people at public meetings where they confess their mission as enemy agents. The failure of this new tactic is also inevitable, as the people are well aware that what characterises the FRELIMO militants and differentiates them from the enemy is not the uniform but their attitude towards the people.

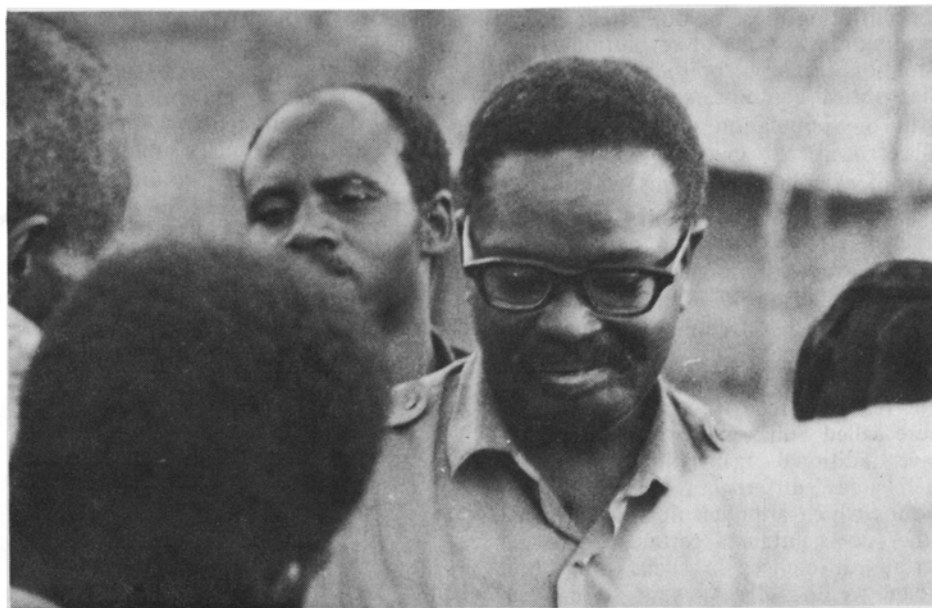
In Cabo Delgado FRELIMO offensive continues, aiming at dislodging the Portuguese troops from the few posts which, although isolated, they still hold; and at the same time aiming at extending the war zones. As a result of the FRELIMO offensive, the Portuguese were forced to abandon another important post, at Ng'angolo, on the 1st September, where about 180 soldiers were stationed. Ng'angolo had been constantly under attack for the previous two weeks. On the 26th August, particularly, after a strong attack by our artillery and infantry forces caused heavy casualties, the enemy were finally convinced that they could no longer hold the post. This raises the number of posts abandoned by the enemy in Cabo Delgado alone, during the past few months, to seven (cf. our previous communiques).

Another important success was achieved by our fighters on the 15th September when two helicopters which were disembarking troops at Muiduimbe, in the zone of Mepo, were hit by our mortars. Although on fire, they managed to reach the Portuguese zone where they crash landed.

During the period between July - October our comrades in Cabo Delgado attacked the posts of Namatili (5 times), Ng'angolo (8 times), Lhipembe Pundandar, Nangololo, Ntadola and Nangade. Approximately 50 enemy soldiers were killed in these attacks, and a number of weapons were captured. Most of the posts were badly damaged.

FRELIMO ambushes and sabotage operations were particularly intensive in the zones of Namatili, Mueda, Diaca, Mocimboa da Praia, Ng'apa Inyankoma, Anacuaba. They resulted in about 100 enemy soldiers killed and 27 vehicles blown up.

ANGOLA: facets of the freedom struggle



Dr. Agostinho Neto (above), President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, talks to FRELIMO about MPLA's successes and problems.

Q: Comrade President Neto, can you describe the present situation of the struggle in Angola — in particular, the pace of development, the extent of fighting and of territory controlled by MPLA, and numbers of population liberated so far.

A: Our movement, MPLA, is currently fighting in 10 districts, principally in the north and east of the country, including Luanda, Cuanza Norte, Huige, Zaire, Malange, Moxico, Kwando-Kubango. The colonial occupation, which lasted for 5 centuries, is becoming more and more difficult to maintain, the situation of the colonialists more precarious. Up to the beginning of last year, we had tremendous difficulties in the intensification of the war, especially logistic difficulties, but this year the situation is much better and we have made enormous progress. The colonialists have been expelled from some positions, our military structure is better following the creation of larger units than existed previously, discipline within the Organisation has strengthened and production for the population and for the guerrillas has greatly improved.

Of course we still have many problems. These stem mainly from certain difficulties at the level of the Action Committees which are the organs of the people's power that must rule the administrative life. They must take care of production, establishment of schools, medical services, etc. Some of these Action Committees are not yet accustomed to administer themselves and have some shortcomings, but we consider it is a very important achievement for our people, namely the existence of that people's power through the democratic election of Action Committees which handle the affairs of the local populations.

Although we have mentioned great advances in production, we must say that we are still not producing enough for our revolutionary struggle because some secondary conditions are missing for that development to be carried out at the pace we want. We are marching, but not as quickly as we would like. The area we are controlling is the least inhabited part of the country apart from the districts of Luanda and Cuanza Norte where there is a very high density. The total population in the districts we control or who come

from the areas we control is about one million, although these are of course not all located in one place. Many have emigrated, either to Congo Kinshasa or Congo Brazzaville or Zambia, running away from the difficulties of the war. Thus when we speak of one million, this includes part of those refugees who are in neighbouring countries.

Q: How much importance does MPLA give to national reconstruction, why, and what have been the results achieved in this field?

A: National reconstruction is one of the fundamental factors of our revolution. We are leaving the colonialist night to enter the day of independence. We are abandoning the traditional forms of social organisation in order to build a modern society and to put an end to the exploitation of man by man. To build the country does not mean, in our view, just to construct buildings or roads, it is principally to change the mentality of man so that he considers himself a dignified man, a man useful to his society, and it is mainly on this aspect that we are

concentrating most of our attention, organising the centres of revolutionary instruction, using our political activists and the political commissars who work either with the population or with the guerrillas, specifically in order to change the way of examining problems, attitudes to life and to offer new perspectives to our people. There is, for example, the structures of traditional organisation with traditional chiefs who were all powerful dictators. This structure was to a certain extent broken by colonialism, but some chiefs were kept to collect taxes and recruit forced labour. These chiefs were called Sobas and Sobetas. We still have traditional organisation in the occupied areas, differences between ethnic groups which although not fighting each other do maintain a certain rivalry and certain differences in social life. And when, we the MPLA, want to lead the way to a single nation of the whole people, we must make a considerable effort for everybody to understand that we are integrated within a political unit which cannot be split into tribal groups. On the other hand we have a very underdeveloped society, a society where industry almost does not yet exist, a society which lives virtually from day to day without seeing the progress the rest of world is making. Because of the colonialists we were very isolated from the world. It was them who kept us in this isolation which thereby helped them to keep quiet our war of independence. But in order to keep up with the pace of world development, it is necessary to raise the level of education, the level of political consciousness and also the concept of the nation. And therefore there must exist within each militant, within each Angolan, that new mentality. Education is a fundamental problem; more than 90 per cent of our people are illiterate. Those illiterate people were kept as such by the colonialists. Only after 1961, did the colonialists hurriedly start building schools to show the world that they were developing our country. Only recently have they built high schools and some secondary schools and technical schools, but the great majority of our people do not use these schools, and it is we the MPLA, who have to organise education for the people. We have set up primary schools, and since last year we have had a secondary school and gradually we are introducing technical instruction, professional preparation for our young people. This is one of the aspects of national reconstruction to which we pay a great deal of attention, that is, making men conscious and aware, men aware of

the necessity of defending what we are gaining at the cost of our blood — independence. After independence there will of course still be much work to make our country a modern state. We must maintain a high revolutionary mobilisation of all the people in order to undertake the important tasks required for the development of the country. We must not think that with independence everything will come. It will be necessary to work, and work hard, greater and greater efforts will be needed to preserve the conquests of the present struggle and to advance further. In material terms, obviously to reconstruct means to establish industries, to increase the expansion of the cultivated areas, to train the workers for new tasks. It means to organise the administration of the populations, to have well established organised machinery to direct the whole struggle, a struggle which has many forms and which therefore presents many problems requiring daily attention. But I stress again, that for us the essential is the reconstruction of man by man himself, the fundamental factor of our revolution.

Q: Enemy action in Mozambique has been directed towards «winning over» the people in the war zones in three ways. First, brutal repression to intimidate them; second, their concentration in strategic hamlets; and, third, promises of political and economic privileges and advantages. What are the main enemy tactics towards the people in Angola?

A: As far as the people are concerned, the enemy acts in Angola precisely as he acts in Mozambique, using the same tactics and with the same strategic goals. They have formed units which are called «Special Groups» to fight against us. They have tried to corrupt our people by offering them better standards of living than they had before. They have tried to offer positions in the civil service, much better than those offered before the war. They have tried to foster among our people the idea that sooner or later Portugal will leave Angola and there will be autonomy. All of us know the meaning of Marcelo Caetano's proposal which pretends to change the constitution in favour of a greater autonomy for the colonies. This is a guise the Portuguese use. They use material and moral corruption on the one hand, and on the other hand they repress the people with total violence. As regards repression of the people, there is a distinct difference in their actions now compared with the beginning of the war. At the beginning of the war, the Portuguese

used to massacre, destroy everything. They used an indiscriminate scorched earth policy. Today they do not destroy everything immediately, but investigate first what may be of use to them. Thus, if they attack a village, they do not destroy everything in it immediately. First of all they arrest some and take others to the strategic hamlet, and only then do they act, and with a great violence, committing atrocities, killing those who show themselves firm patriots, who do not give in to their methods of corruption. And the colonialists keep the other part of the population under their domination, their control, so that they can use them against the patriotic forces. Sometimes former guerrillas and members of the movement after passing through this process of corruption betray the organisation and give information not only on the location of bases, but also on the structure of the organisation itself. This does not happen often, but it must be emphasised that it does happen sometimes, thus a constant awareness of conspiracy must be maintained in our organisation so that we are not undermined by the weaker elements in our struggle, those who are politically weaker, or who have the spirit of betrayal. The enemy uses these methods, but we observe with pride that in the case of the strategic hamlets, for example, called «Ndandandas» by our people, they cannot keep these for any length of time. In the beginning they used to give enough food and good means of life to the people in these strategic hamlets. But now they lack these means. The Portuguese are embarrassed by the population which they have to gather around themselves to protect their headquarters. For the people are in fact put there to protect the military installations, not to be protected by them. And so there is lack of food. Yet at the same time in our zones our people are much better dressed than the people who live in the «Ndandandas» — who have to come to our fields to get some cassava or to hunt in areas which we control. Thus a large proportion of those who are captured by the Portuguese Special Commandos in helicopters to go and live in the Ndandandas, immediately go back to a free life in the independent territory of Angola — not only because living conditions are better, but because their patriotism forces them to return to the areas where the people exercise control. In this way the situation in Mozambique and Angola is similar. Moreover, there is also a great similarity in the attitudes of the people who are fighting for their independence in Angola and Mozambique — their firm determination to win their freedom.

Q: In Mozambique, the enemy recently abandoned several posts of great strategic importance. Although their withdrawal was forced on them by our encirclement and consequent isolation of those posts, there is no doubt that the Portuguese could continue there, supplied by air as they used to do up till then. We have heard from MPLA comrades that the enemy has also withdrawn from several posts in Angola. We think there may be several reasons for this. For example, maybe they want to implement a policy of scorched earth. How do the cadres of the MPLA interpret the withdrawal of the enemy?

A: It is true in the past few months, especially since the beginning of this year, the Portuguese have abandoned some military headquarters which were being attacked very strongly and hence where the enemy soldiers spent more of their time in the shelters than in the open air. To live in the shelters, the impossibility to leave because of our encirclement, the constant imminence of an attack — all these are factors which demoralise, which tire, they play on the nerves of the soldier so that later he will have to give up. I believe that the action which is simultaneously taking place in Angola and Mo-

zambique, I mean the withdrawal from certain posts, has a strategic aim, but we can already say that it represents a defeat for our common enemy who are forced to leave important parts of our countries in our hands. For example, it was a question of prestige and honour for the Portuguese troops to maintain the military post in Karipande near the border with Zambia, a post which will always remain in our memory, not only as one which the enemy attached great importance but also because it symbolises for us the resistance and heroism of our fighters. It was there that on the first assault, commander Henda, the beloved son of the Angolan people and heroic fighter of the MPLA died. After several attacks against that post, the enemy was forced to leave. But we must remember that about one year earlier, because of an attack against that post, the Portuguese attacked and robbed a train coming from Lobito with goods for Zambia. They did that as a reprisal so that Zambia would not give support to the MPLA. That means that they attached some importance to that post and yet were forced to leave. It is possible that they are regrouping their forces, that their present tactics no longer correspond to the needs of repression against our forces, which have developed

and transformed themselves. But I repeat, it represents a great defeat, a significant defeat to the enemy forces and they will never be able to recover from the retreat they were forced to undertake, because the psychological consequences of that retreat are enormous, quite apart from the material consequences. It will be difficult for them to justify to their people the losses they suffered in those posts. It will be difficult for them to tell their soldiers to return to those positions. It will be even more difficult for us to convince ourselves that we are not able to defeat the enemy. All these are factors which we must take into consideration. And today our soldiers, our militants, all the population in the controlled areas are more and more conscious that with more effort and more determination we shall win this war. And we have already started to defeat the enemy who run away into areas where they are more protected.

Q: The Portuguese are building a hydroelectric dam at Cahora-Bassa in Mozambique, against which the progressive forces of the world have launched a strong opposition movement. Now the Portuguese are building another dam in Angola on the Cunene River, which just like the



MPLA guerrillas on march to an attack

Cahora Bassa Dam, will have negative implications for the Angolan people. What exactly is the objective of the enemy in building the Cunene Dam and what has been the action of the MPLA to prevent it.

A: The Cunene project is part of a complex of projects which Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia are undertaking in the Southern part of our continent in order to achieve their objectives of exploitation of the peoples of different countries and the domination of that part of Africa. Like the Cahora Bassa Project, the Portuguese are intending to build along the river Cunene a series of dams in order to create conditions for immigration to the areas which are along the shores of the river, not only from Angola, but also from South West Africa. They also want these dams to provide power for their industries and especially for the mines of Tsumeb in Namibia. The Cunene is a river which borders Namibia and Angola. It is a river which rises up to Nova Lisboa where it has its source, and in that whole area, the Portuguese aim at establishing colonialists, not only Portuguese settlers, but also South African and other nationalities. We heard recently that some Italians wanted to settle in that area to grow bananas. This kind of settlement in Angola and Mozambique and in particular the association with South Africa reveals a political tendency to transform Angola, to transform Mozambique into new South Africas where power will be in the hands of white minorities who will continue to oppress our peoples. The Portuguese government is naturally trying a series of solutions for the problem of Angola and Mozambique. I think they have not yet reached what they can consider a "proper" solution, so meanwhile they are studying ways to strengthen their position. Building of dams fits into that kind of plan as well as the building of roads. For example, a road which is being built from Luanda to Pretoria has clearly a strategic purpose. This is to link the two countries more closely so that the colonialists and the racists of Southern Africa can help each other more easily against the peoples of Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and Mozambique. We think, therefore, that all the activity which FRELIMO has been undertaking to fight the Cahora Bassa Project is just and we have praised the great results achieved by you internationally with the withdrawal of companies and capital involved in the building of the dam. This represents an important diplomatic victory. It also

means an important defeat for those who plan to build the dam. We have praised your efforts to stop its construction and we are absolutely certain that this Cahora Bassa project, as the late President of FRELIMO, Comrade Eduardo Mondlane said, is a project which is doomed and must be fought by the whole world. The power of mobilisation of FRELIMO in this respect has been really great and we hope it will continue to bear fruit so that the Portuguese will be deprived of one more instrument for the repression of the Mozambican people. In Angola we shall act in the same way, the most correct way, but we have not yet organised a similar campaign to FRELIMO in the diplomatic field. We still have not paid enough attention to the problem of the Cunene Dam, it is even little known in the world outside. It is being built in silence, but this is because of other preoccupations we have had until now, preoccupations of political and military nature, which have demanded our energy and our attention, so for the moment we do not consider it the main objective of our struggle, of our present tactics, to make a frontline attack against the Cunene Dam. But of course, we shall fight against its construction, certainly the colonialists (some of whom are already there) will be forced to leave, and I am absolutely sure that our cannon and mortar shells will not let those individuals who come to exploit our people, remain on the land as owners, as capitalists who do not want anything but to fill their pockets at the cost of the blood and sweat of the African people.

Q: The Portuguese colonialists have recently intensified the use of herbicides against the zones controlled by the MPLA. What are the effects of these barbaric actions? This certainly corresponds to a new phase of the war, a desperate measure of the Portuguese government similar to what the Americans are doing in Vietnam.

A: The use of herbicides goes back as far as 1962. They did not just start using herbicides now in the northern front. In the districts of Cuanza North and Luanda the herbicides have often been used since 1962, 1963, 1964 in particular to destroy the cassava and deprive the populations in the liberated areas, and thus force them to return to the Portuguese control. However, after 1970, this action was intensified — vast areas of the Eastern region were also affected by herbicides entailing particular damage, because the herbicides affect our basic food-stuff — cassava, and one cannot plant and grow crops of cassava in a short time. When

using this tactic I think the Portuguese colonialist government believes that by creating more difficulties for the people they will surrender in order to live better. On the other hand they also consider that without the people the guerrillas cannot fight. This is the main reason why the enemy uses herbicides. There is no doubt that they have destroyed vast areas of land but their calculations were not correct, for they did not consider certain other factors. First of all they didn't take into account the determination of the people to fight, whatever the difficulties, until independence. They didn't expect the leadership's decision to do everything so that this use of herbicides would not cause too extensive damage, could not harm the struggle. They didn't consider the counter measures which we took so that there would be no food shortages. They did not anticipate the international solidarity which played a crucial role in ensuring that the populations of the affected areas continued to have food and did not suffer hunger. In fact, on this point, I must say that several countries in the world offered food for the areas affected by herbicides, which represents a new victory for our movement and for all liberation movements, and a severe blow to Portuguese policy.

They thought about depriving us of the vital supplies for the guerrillas in the areas where they have no control. But on the contrary it was noticed that these conditions increased and improved thanks to international solidarity. When they decided to halt the guerrillas with their planes and herbicides a general movement of sympathy with the people who suffered this inhuman attack started throughout the world. Even in the UN (where there is still a majority which does not allow that organisation to act within the spirit of the 1960 Declaration of Independence of the Colonised Peoples) we saw a movement of sympathy for our people, particularly in the specialised agencies like FAO, UNESCO, WHO. They are giving support to the liberated areas so that the effects of the herbicides will be lessened. That means that Portugal suffered yet another defeat when she used that weapon, a defeat which was inflicted both by our people and also by all the peoples of the world. And what she thought would be a means of oppression, of demoralisation of our people, became instead a means of encouragement, because we saw we had friends throughout the world and we saw that we could rebuild what was destroyed by the Portuguese. This world response helps us even more, to reiterate and support with all

our strength that which we defended at the Rome Conference last year, namely recognition of a political personality for the liberated regions of the countries which are fighting for their independence. We think that the liberated regions already have a structure developed enough for them to be considered as developing countries on matters such as relations with various parties and organisations, and that they must have the right to participate in international life and have normal international relations as any other underdeveloped country. This question of herbicides, therefore, represents a step towards that international recognition and it will contribute towards helping the political independence of our country come sooner.

Q: In the past the MPLA has faced great difficulties abroad created by imperialist forces who have attempted to confuse the meaning, the significance of the Angolan revolution. But the MPLA knew how to overcome those difficulties, developed the struggle, built a free Angola which we know today, and established its position in the international field. What is the fundamental reason, what explains the victory of the MPLA despite all of the difficulties?

A: Thank you for a question which is formulated in such a way as to give me an opportunity to explain some of the phenomena which are taking place in Angola, but also a question which on the other hand reveals the high understanding which the comrades of FRELIMO have for the struggle which is developing in Angola. We have had to face some difficulties, as all organisations sooner or later have to face, difficulties imposed by the imperialists. In Angola things were in a way perhaps more spectacular because of certain factors, particularly geographic, which prevented us from acting in time. Since the 4th February, 1961, when we launched our armed struggle in Luanda, the imperialists have been active in trying to destroy our organisation. Even before the armed struggle began, there was already action of imperialists against the patriotic movement. That caused the fragmentation of the forces which thereby became inefficient. With the beginning of the war, there was soon founded that so-called organisation which exists in Kinshasa, calling itself Union of the Peoples of Angola, which worked only to liquidate the MPLA (we must not forget the 8,000 Angolans who died in the fratricidal war launched by UPA led by Holden Roberto, a man everyone knows as an American agent, completely sold to the

imperialists). When we opened the front of Cabinda in 1964, there was also a group of counter-revolutionaries led by Alexander Tati, an individual who had been also a member of UPA. When we opened the Eastern front in 1966, the same phenomena was repeated again: a former member of UPA, Jonas Savimbi came to the east to form a counter-revolutionary group to liquidate our movement. All these examples and others show that the imperialists have always tried to divide our organisation by paying their agents to form tribal groups which would oppose the MPLA. We have succeeded in defeating these tribal groups by the correct orientation of our organisation, by constantly defending national unity, by fighting the enemy and despising as much as possible those counter-revolutionary forces, directing the essential fight against the main enemy, making

the population dedicate themselves principally to the war of independence and not to the fratricidal struggle. Also ensuring that abroad other nations understood what was going on. We had great difficulties after the recognition by the OAU of the so-called GRAE. The OAU made a tremendous mistake in recognising GRAE. All our difficulties have stemmed from the actions of imperialism. There was never any difficulty in the internal field which was not a reflection of the difficulties in the international field. In conclusion I would just like to stress that our movement has progressed enormously in the past few years and it will do whatever is necessary to eliminate the effects of counter-revolution; liquidate all those bad weeds which are there in the fields we are building, so that our people will be able to live in a really democratic and independent Angola.



The growth of a new culture

Last July UNESCO held a Seminar in Dar es Salaam, on "The Influence of Colonialism on the Artist, his Milieu and his Public in Developing Countries". FRELIMO was invited to participate in the Seminar, and was represented by comrades Armando Guebuza and Sergio Vieira. The following is the paper presented by FRELIMO at the Seminar.



The Mozambican artist discerns the enemy's essential features — and shows how to deal with him.

Our experience of five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule and of already seven years of liberation war and national reconstruction has enabled us to make certain observations and to reach certain conclusions. Although we are speaking of the case of Mozambique, we think that our experience is similar to that of other countries, particularly that of Angola and Guiné-Bissau.

A culture — and art is one of the most vital expressions of culture — is of necessity the result of the values and concepts of a given society. More particularly, it expresses the concepts and values of the ruling classes, being a part of existing structures and serving to justify them.

On the fringe of this «official» culture, the masses in oppressed societies try, almost clandestinely, to affirm another culture born of their dissent and struggle.

In the areas still under enemy control, as in any country before a revolution, there are two main forms of cultural oppression : colonialist-capitalist oppression and traditional and feudal oppression. Traditional and feudal culture is based essentially on a metaphysical rationale, where man is seen as subject to hostile nature from which he can gain favours only through the mediation of the spirits of God. Once it questions the very foundations of this rationale, science is shunned as heresy. This is a tribal culture which underestimates, negates or is even hostile to other so-called foreign cultures. Women and the youth are oppressed. Art like sculpture, for example, is the monopoly of certain castes or initiated groups. This culture therefore destroys the initiative of the masses and, in a world in constant evolution, it seeks to remain like and island, isolated, frozen, unchanging.

Traditional culture is suited to our agrarian and backward society with no production for the market. It is a tool which serves to justify the archaic rule of the feudal strata ideologically and to safeguard it.

On the other hand, the colonial-capitalist culture brought about by a technically advanced society, through modern economic exploitation, has other foundations and objectives.

Its prime aim is to depersonalise the colonised person, to colonise him mentally. In the few existing schools, children are taught all about the geography and history of Portugal. The pupil, the school-child, has no point of reference other than Portugal in seeking his intellectual identity. The geography of Portugal situates him in space and Portuguese history situates him in time. Although reli-

gion holds an important place in keeping the masses subjugated, science plays a fundamental role in «improving» the methods used to exploit and alienate the masses, while culture becomes yet another gadget, something to entertain the exploiting strata and to fill their leisure time. It is even an anti-culture, a means for dehumanising man. For example, colonialism, which once brought us missionary puritanism, is now giving us commercialised sex. This anti-culture is definitely intended to create a subjugated society in which selfishness and corruption take their most extreme forms, the better to maintain capitalist and foreign exploitation.

Indeed, in our country, once the problem and the necessity of revolution i.e. of destroying one structure in order to establish another, had been raised, it went without saying that the need for a new culture would arise. The struggle between cultures is a part of the very logic of revolution.

It is a question of destroying dialectically, that is, of negating the old colonial and traditional societies by transcending them. It goes without saying that while transcending them all the positive values of the past, that culture forged almost clandestinely in the popular struggle in our country and throughout the world, are adopted, reintegrated into the new context.

NATIONAL VALUES

Today we are building a new culture, a national culture which is negating and transcending both the tribal micro-cultures and the colonial anti-culture, a culture which is assuming the geographical and historical dimensions of the whole people, a culture which is making the masses in a given region assume the values of another region as their own. The Gaza dances are known and danced in Cabo Delgado, the people in Niassa are getting to know and further developing the musical rhythms from Manica e Sofala and Tete, Makonde carving is ceasing to be exotic and foreign and becoming national. Monomotapa's historic resistance has been assumed by all and the 1960 peasant revolt in Mueda has become the resistance of the Mozambican peasantry.

It is a culture in which the demarcation line between the old and the new has been clearly drawn, that is to say, a culture which is fighting to introduce new values and rejecting those of colonial capitalism and feudal tradition.

In this way our culture is creating a sense of responsibility and of collective participation, enhancing the value of manual labour, releasing the creative energy of the masses and putting an end to the oppression of women and the youth.

In this respect, we say that the spark of artistic creativity arises out of the coming together of intelligence and sensitivity with the hand and the soil. This is why our new culture, because it assumes the revolutionary values of the people, is universal at the same time as being national, because it is a part of the struggle of all of mankind for social and cultural liberation.

It is within this context that the role of the artist must be seen. At the 2nd Conference of our Department of Education and Culture, our President Comrade Samora Machel, issued the following watchword to all the education and culture workers:

EDUCATE MAN TO WIN THE WAR, CREATE A NEW SOCIETY AND DEVELOP THE COUNTRY.

As artists our place is not in libraries and museums. Our role is not to be in the middle of the public square on monuments; we should be there only when the people have created freedom there. Like the hero, the artist must give concrete form to the values of the people, the sensitivity of the people in their struggle. We are not working for a gadget culture, a luxury culture; our art, our culture, emerges from our involvement in day-to-day life. Our art grows with the maize we are cultivating in the co-operatives, with the adults and children to whom we are teaching literacy, with the enemy bases we are destroying. Because our art is revolutionary, it both dies and is born in praxis. Our theatre, our music, our songs, our sculpture, our painting, our literature, are all forged with the active participation of the masses, without the distortion created by the contradiction between the public as object and the creator as subject.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

This possibility of solving the contradiction between an object public and a creative public starts with the artist joining the political formation which is leading the people to transform society, or at least with the artist seeing his activity as a task and this task being bound up with the revolutionary process of transformation. This does not mean that the

Party directs the artist administratively. Quite the contrary, the Party provides the basic ideological definition without which the artist would isolate himself in aesthetics, removed from the peoples' problems and their concrete struggle. The authenticity of the artist is then to be found in the coherence between his creative work and his life, his integration with the masses.

In this context, the form of expression, because it goes with an authentic content, takes on its true significance as a means of communicating sensitivity. The form becomes a kind of soft and fresh skin covering a harmonious body. All attempts at aestheticism only result in rendering this skin a flabby, empty and repulsive object.

Language is a special problem, because culture requires a linguistic basis for expression.

There is no majority language in our country. Choosing one of the languages as a national language would, at present be an arbitrary choice which could have serious consequences. Moreover, the technical facilities and personnel now available to us do not as yet allow us to carry out the kind of research work required to make the languages operational particularly in the field of science.

We have therefore been forced to use Portuguese as our teaching language and for communicating among ourselves, sometimes using interpreters, like at meetings, for example.

In fact, in the dialectical process of the revolution, the Portuguese language, an instrument of alienation, has become an instrument of liberation, the knife that colonialism had wanted to drive into our chests having been turned against it to destroy it. At the same time, having been liberated from colonialism, the tribal languages are flourishing anew.

This rich experience we are living through is the result of the advance of the people's liberation war, without which the material conditions for this cultural revolution could never have existed. The correctness of FRELIMO's political line, which has released our creative energy, has defined our objectives and made our success possible.

We can therefore conclude with a saying by one of our poets, that in our country flowers are growing from the bullets.



CHINA

Above: Prime Minister Chou En Lai greets the President of FRELIMO.

Below: A Chinese delegation headed by Comrade Chou En Lai welcomes the FRELIMO delegation in Peking.

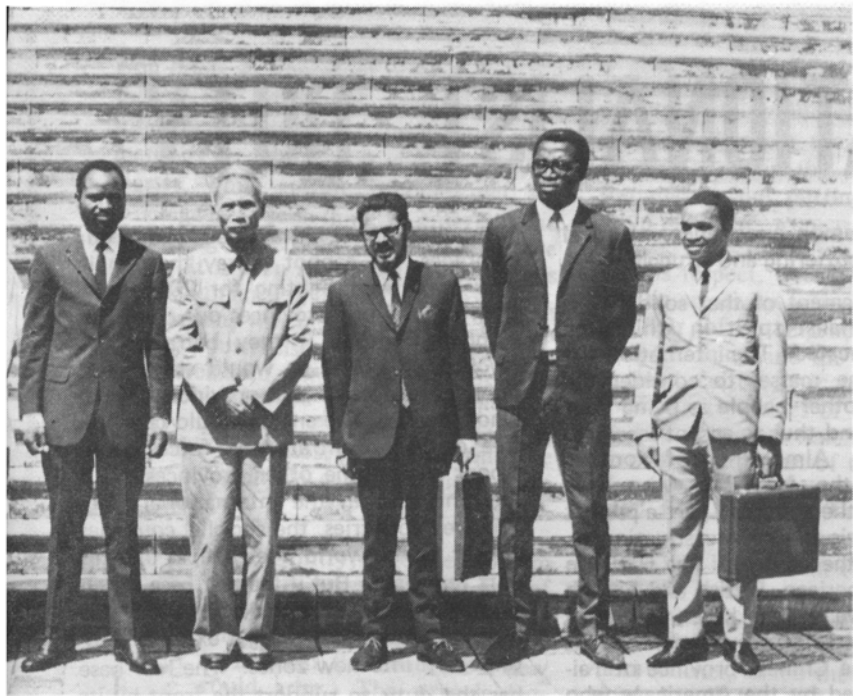


Above: Comrade Pham Var welcomes the FRE

Right: Comrade General V of Vietnam warmly

IMAGES OF

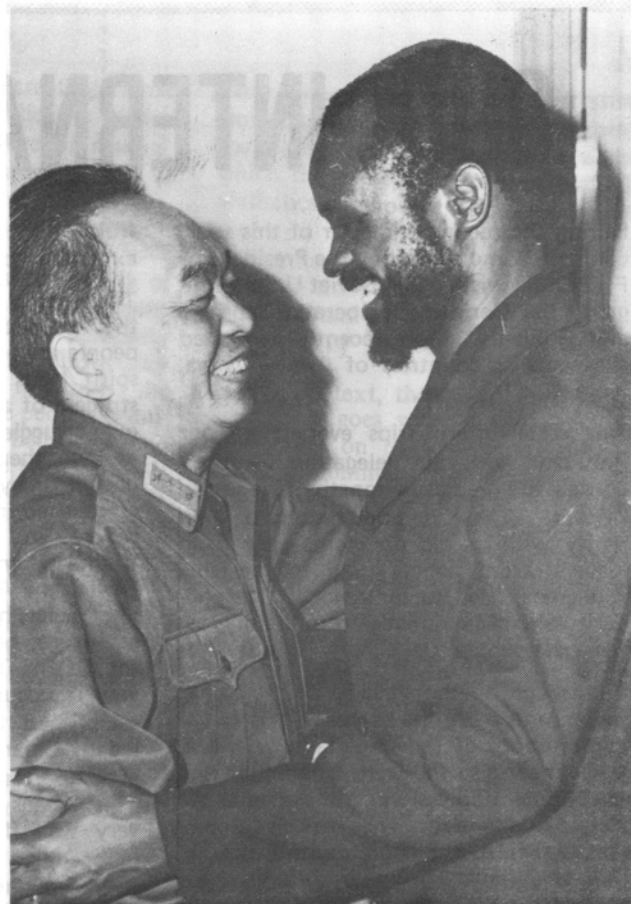




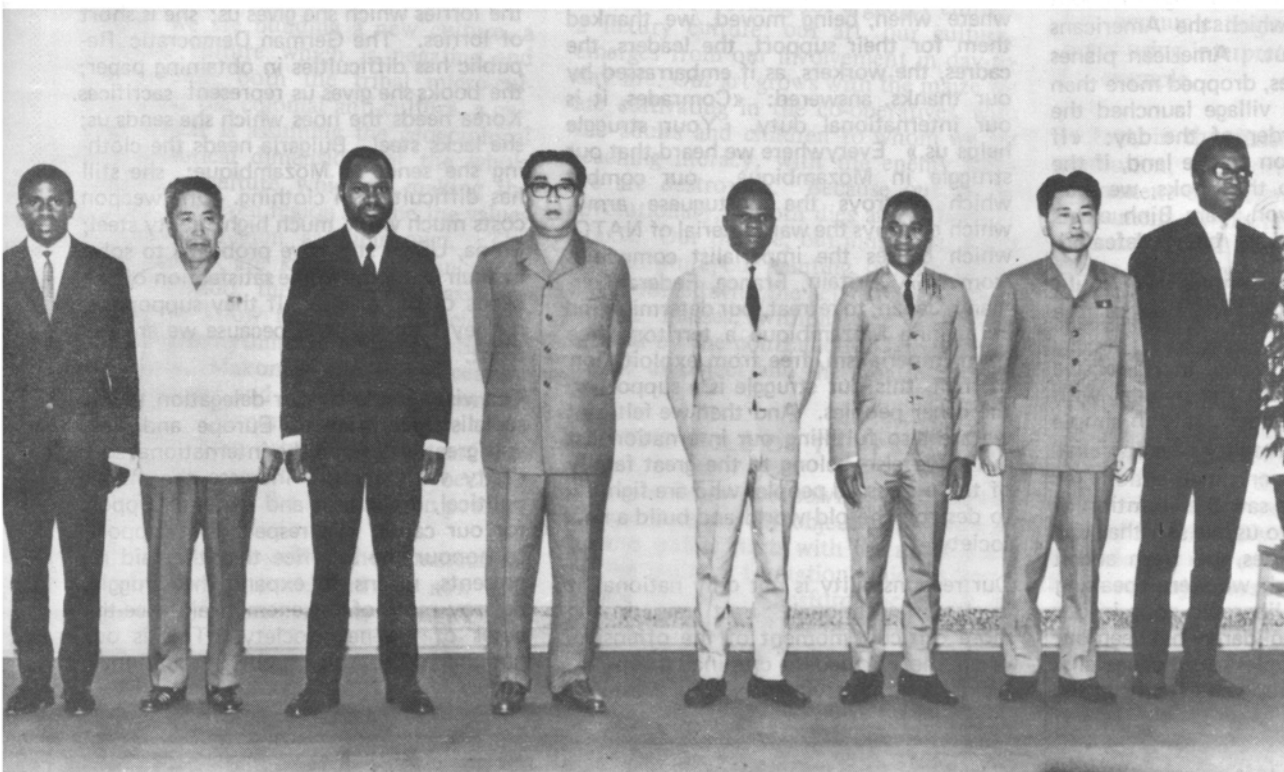
VIETNAM

ong, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam,
IO delegation .

Nguyen Giap, Defence Minister of the Democratic Republic
lutes the President of FRELIMO.



THE VISIT TO SOCIALIST ASIA



KOREA

Comrade Kim
Il Sung (centre),
General Secretary
of the Workers
Party of Korea
and Prime Minister,
accompanied by
high-ranking
members of the
Party, with the
FRELIMO dele-
gation in Pyong
Yang.

OUR INTERNATIONALIST DUTY

During the second trimester of this year, comrade Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, visited the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and Romania. More recently he visited the socialist countries of Asia — China, Korea and Vietnam.

During all those trips everywhere our President and our delegation were accorded the greatest sympathy, friendship, respect. These demonstrations of solidarity with us did not come only from leaders, from people used to receiving foreigners, used to diplomacy. The solidarity also came directly from the masses, from the people.

The people in the socialist countries experienced deeply the brutality of colonial exploitation, of the imperialist war, and they knew also the weight of feudal and traditional oppression. In Bulgaria we visited one church. The Turkish colonialists had filled the church with Bulgarian patriots — men, women, children. For many days the patriots were closed in the church without water or food. After several days of this martyrdom, the Turkish troops entered and massacred the people, hundreds and hundreds of them. Even today, stains on the wall show how high the blood came. In Vietnam we were told about Cam Binh, a village of about 3,000 inhabitants which the Americans decided to wipe out. American planes bombed it 297 times, dropped more than 5000 bombs. The village launched the following heroic order of the day: «If the guerrillas hold on to the land, if the students hold on to the books, we shall win.» And they won, Cam Binh exists and the Americans are being defeated.

Those are just two examples. We could give many more for each one of the countries we visited.

In Peking, in Pyong Yang, in Hanoi, we had big meetings with the people, with the cadres. Our President told in simple language about the brutality of colonialist oppression, of the criminal actions of repression. When we saw the attention of the people listening to us, we saw that our words stirred memories still fresh and it was almost as though we were speaking to the people of a liberated zone in our country. Thus the solidarity between our people and the peoples of the socialist countries we visited appears firstly as the

fruit of a common experience, identical experience of suffering and struggle.

The second element of that solidarity is the internationalist spirit in which the people are educated. The internationalist spirit leads the masses to consider the struggle of another people as being their own struggle and thus to accept sacrifices to help them. Almost half of Korea is occupied by the Americans who have established in the southern part a puppet regime, and this is also the situation in Vietnam. In the centre of the GDR, in Berlin, the American, British and French imperialists have military bases, centres of espionage, centres of provocation against the GDR. The Chinese province of Taiwan is occupied by the Americans who established there a puppet government led by Chiang Kai-Shek, the great traitor and oppressor of the Chinese people. This means that we would understand very well if those countries were only preoccupied with their own situation, if they thought only of liberating the parts of their territory which are occupied and in developing the well-being of the free zones.

But no, they preoccupy themselves with us. The workers make sacrifices, they work more hours, they despise pain and difficulties in order to help us. Everywhere when, being moved, we thanked them for their support, the leaders, the cadres, the workers, as if embarrassed by our thanks, answered: «Comrades, it is our international duty. Your struggle helps us.» Everywhere we heard that our struggle in Mozambique, our combat which destroys the Portuguese army, which destroys the war material of NATO, which causes the imperialist companies from USA, Britain, France, Federal Germany, Japan, to retreat, our determination in making Mozambique a territory free from imperialism, free from exploitation of man, this our struggle is a support to the other peoples. And then we felt that we are also fulfilling our internationalist duty, we also belong to the great family of the oppressed peoples who are fighting to destroy the old world and build a new society.

Our responsibility is not only national, it is also international. Last year, in the more difficult moment of the offensive, when the Portuguese criminal troops attacked us more violently, our President

said: «We cannot betray the blood of our comrades, we cannot betray the people who have been fighting for 20 years.» If in one of our provinces our comrades stopped fighting, if they betrayed the revolution, all of us would suffer, not only the people of that province, but the whole people. The enemy would be more free, could concentrate more forces, more troops against the other provinces. It is like this also in the international plan. The free countries, the socialist countries appear as the world free zone, as the support rear base. But if the rear base which supports the front is to defend itself, it is necessary that the struggle expands continuously into new zones. The rear base has the duty to support the front by its production, and the front has a duty to support the rear through the expansion of the combat. Without the rear base the front will be liquidated. Without the front, the rear base will be destroyed.

«Not to betray the peoples who have been fighting for 20 years» is not to betray the other fronts, that is the comrades who, like us, in Laos, in Cambodia, in Angola, in Guiné are fighting. It is not to betray the free zones, the rear bases, those who make sacrifices, give their sweat to support us, the free countries, the socialist countries. Romania needs the lorries which she gives us; she is short of lorries. The German Democratic Republic has difficulties in obtaining paper; the books she gives us represent sacrifices. Korea needs the hoes which she sends us; she lacks steel. Bulgaria needs the clothing she sends to Mozambique; she still has difficulties in clothing. One weapon costs much work, much high quality steel; China, USSR still have problems to solve in their economy in the satisfaction of the needs of the masses. If they support us, if they help us, it is because we are the front.

The visits made by our delegation to the socialist countries of Europe and Asia will greatly develop the international solidarity with us, will increase the moral, political, diplomatic and material support for our cause. To respect that support, to honour the sacrifice that that aid represents, means to expand the struggle, destroy more of the enemy, reinforce the bases of the new society. This is our national duty, this is our international duty.

We saw the people's unity



A warm welcome to Mozambique for the Tanzanian students (fifth and sixth from right)

«We learnt much during our visit. For example, we did not understand how FRELIMO could say that they had liberated a region when Portuguese posts are still there. The explanation (we know it now) is simple: those enemy posts are like islands, isolated from the people and the fighters. The posts are encircled and the Portuguese soldiers cannot move. We passed by some of these posts. On approaching them we heard shots, explosions, as if a battle was in progress. But the comrades of FRELIMO explained that it was the soldiers in the post who were firing into the bush in order to "frighten away" the guerrillas. They are constantly firing from fear.

«But the real proof that these regions are in fact liberated, is seen from the normal life the people are leading and by the different activities they are undertaking led by FRELIMO. When we moved from one zone to another we constantly met with people who were carrying their products to the FRELIMO co-operatives. Sometimes there were more than 1000 people on the move. We could see commercial life in action — an interesting characteristic is that money does not have a part in the transactions — products are exchanged for products. We visited orphanages where FRELIMO takes care of children whose parents have been killed by the colonialists or are on a mission in another zone. Here the children grow within the revolutionary principles of FRELIMO, completely free from

Two Tanzanian students, A. Ipyana and P. Mangula, visited Cabo Delgado in September as representatives of TANU Youth League. Their report:

the colonial-capitalist mentality. We were in schools, where the students have their weapons with them on their shoulders all the time. We joined in traditional singing and dancing from different parts of Mozambique, in which all students participated, they themselves coming from different Provinces. This is just one example of the unity FRELIMO has already achieved — a material unity in which all the people participate in the struggle against the oppressor, and an ideological unity — where everybody is orientated through the same popular and revolutionary principles and objectives. We saw hospitals where the wounded and sick are treated and where small surgical operations are undertaken. We were in centres where the disabled — those physically incapacitated and who cannot participate in the armed struggle — give their contribution to the struggle by participating in agricultural production or artisan work. We visited sculptor's co-operatives where the well-known Makonde sculptures are made. We saw, in short, that the people are organised under the leadership of FRELIMO, and live in complete freedom, working and producing for themselves, deciding on their own destiny.

«We also saw signs of Portuguese brutality. We saw villages which had been abandoned after houses had been destroyed by bombings. We saw shambas burnt out by napalm. We spoke with 20 people who had recently run away from a "protected village". They told us of the humiliation and brutality to which the people in those villages are subjected to by the Portuguese soldiers, and which leads many patriots to escape to FRELIMO, although risking death if they are caught.

«We saw evidence of the just and humane policy of FRELIMO. We were told of two recent episodes: a Portuguese white hunter, a civilian, was caught by a FRELIMO patrol. The guerrillas just confiscated his gun and set him free. We saw the gun and took note of its identification marks: «Coaswell and Harrison Ltd. London 168 Piccadilly.» Another Portuguese hunter was arrested by a FRELIMO patrol after killing an elephant. The guerrillas took his gun and the elephant tusks and warned the hunter that he should not do that again — that he should not destroy the natural riches of Mozambique, they belong to the Mozambican people. And he was also set free. «But the fundamental lesson we learnt from our visit to Mozambique is that in spite of the many difficulties, the people of Mozambique are determined to gain their independence, to fight until final victory. And that they are guided by correct, popular and revolutionary principles.»

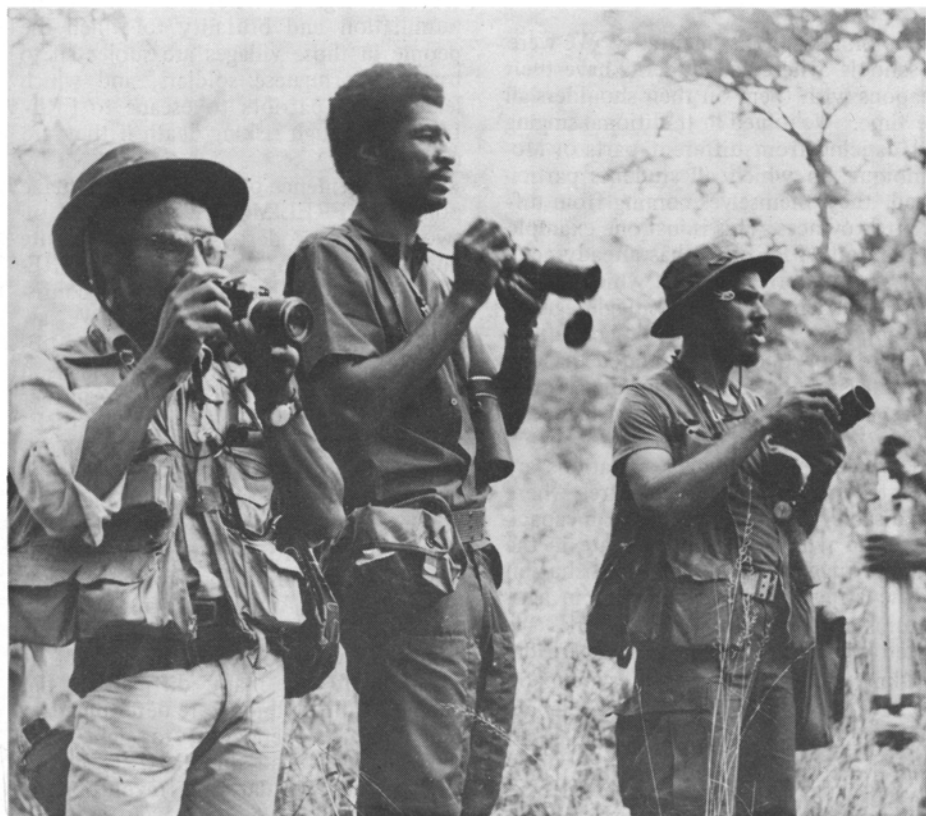
Last September Mozambique received three more visitors (below). They are Americans members of movements which oppose the pro-colonialist and imperialist policy of the U.S. Government and act in solidarity with our liberation struggle. They were invited by FRELIMO to make a film on our struggle, in order to mobilise the American people in support of our cause. Robert van Lierop head of the team, tells about their impressions.

The revolution lives in the hearts of the people

«During our stay of five and a half weeks inside Free Mozambique, we were fortunate to experience many different aspects of the life of our comrades — the people of Mozambique. Not only did we live, eat, march and sleep with the people, but we were also outraged by an enemy attack and we experienced the determination and resolve of the masses and guerrillas which not only drove the enemy away in defeat but also used the occasion of the enemy attack to learn of continued enemy weaknesses and contradictions. It is difficult to describe our feelings upon crossing the border and entering into the areas which have been freed from Portuguese colonialism. This was the culmination of many years of hard work by the comrades of FRELIMO which made it possible for us to come film, photograph and record this historic struggle. And it was the culmination of many years of planning so that our crew could report this story to the American public.

The people of Mozambique know that the American government is one of Portugal's main supporters. Despite America's liberal rhetoric at international forums, the fact remains that American economic, political and military aid assists the maintenance of the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné (Bissau) and Portugal's efforts in its wars against the people of these three countries. It is no secret that without this support (and that of other NATO allies such as Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Holland and Belgium) Portugal could not fight these wars at all. However, the people we met always distinguished between the actions of the American government and the American people just as they distinguished between combatting the Portuguese colonial system (which FRELIMO is doing) and fighting against the Portuguese people (which FRELIMO is not doing) who are themselves the victims of a cruel and oppressive regime.

Everywhere we went we were welcomed as friends. The people opened their hearts and told us of their sufferings under colonialism and of their work in creating a new society through the revolution. Even though the people face many difficulties in waging this protracted struggle they also found a way to communicate their warmth, their generosity and their hospitality.



We saw schools where schools had been completely unheard of. We saw hospitals and medical clinics where people had never before had any medical facilities at all. We saw agricultural production for the benefit of the people where before only cash crops were permitted to be grown. We saw men, women and children working together as equals where before artificial and arbitrary distinctions had been implanted and nurtured by a feudal social system and encouraged and used by the colonialists. We saw unity between comrades from all parts of Mozambique where before no African could "legally" travel from one part of the country to another. We saw hope where before there had only been frustration and despair.

These things and many others are due strictly to the efforts of the people of Mozambique themselves. FRELIMO has no airplanes, ships, heavy industries, etc. But it has something much more important — revolutionary commitment. Every single day in the liberated areas comrades wake up to go to teach in schools. Quite often they do not have materials such as papers, pencils, chalk, blackboards, desks chairs, etc. They are sometimes forced to write the day's lesson in the dirt. And they do this in full realisation that this is the way that they may have to spend the rest of their lives.

The same goes for the medical cadres (more of whom are desperately needed). Every single day they work under extremely difficult conditions with no thought of ever leaving the people for an easier life in Europe, America or somewhere else in Africa. And the same goes for the comrades who every day go out on ambush, sometimes waiting for days without any sight of the enemy and with no sleep and nothing to eat but a few pieces of raw cassava.

The revolution in Mozambique is a process and not an event. Every single day small steps are taken to prepare the way for the next generation which must continue the struggle begun by the comrades of this generation. Sensational events or individuals have no place in this revolutionary process. This struggle is something akin to a long distance relay race which requires — patience, teamwork co-ordination, stamina and determination. It is not like a sprint which requires only an unsustainable burst of initial speed and sensationalism. People in America who profess to be revolutionaries but who deliver simplified messages of quick non-ideological struggles could learn much from the people of Mozambique who are

in the front line of the world-wide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. Unfortunately many people still have a romantic notion of the revolutionary process and fail to understand the hard work and discipline necessary to build what FRELIMO has built. As we marched about the liberated areas, the difficulties which had to be overcome to reach the present level of struggle became more and more apparent. The least of these difficulties are the physical problems of surviving with none of the superficial luxuries of life. By far the most difficult problem is perhaps to conquer the individual doubts, conflicts and contradictions which exist in all human beings.

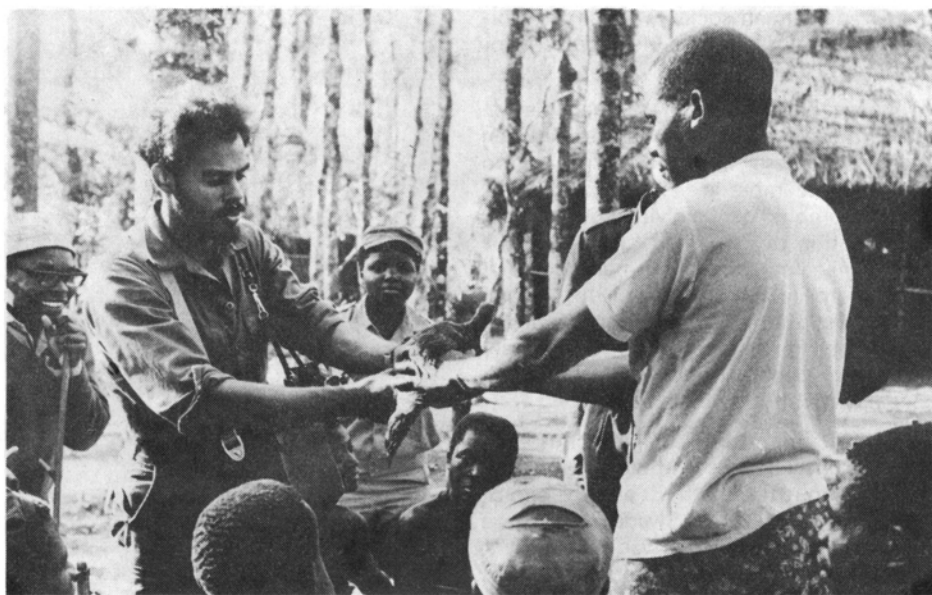
However, it is now impossible for the enemy to ever defeat the people of Mozambique. It is inevitable that the justice of the cause and the motivation of the people of Mozambique will lead to the enemy's defeat. All that the enemy can do is call upon his friends for help (bombs, planes, helicopters, etc.) in postponing the inevitable victory of the people. However, when he does that the enemy only helps to strengthen FRELIMO and to stiffen the resolve of the masses. One day we were told by a man in the liberated areas that in the 7 years since it launched the armed struggle, FRELIMO had accomplished more for the people than the Portuguese colonialists did in 500 years.

The enemy is of the mistaken opinion that he can destroy a school or a hospital by burning or destroying huts and that if he burns or destroys enough huts and

fields he will have destroyed the revolution. However, we learned that the schools and hospitals are only housed temporarily in huts. In reality they exist in the hearts of the people as manifested in their determination that if necessary the school or hospital will continue to function in the bush under a tree. Similarly, the revolution (and its progress) cannot be measured in terms of huts or fields nor even in terms of liberated territory. For the revolution in Mozambique exists in the hearts of the people and this can never be destroyed.

When it became time for us to leave we became saddened at the prospect of leaving the people we had come to love as comrades. However, in seeing them perform their duties we were reminded how important it is for us to perform our duty of telling the world what we have seen. The comrades taught us to consider leaving them in the same light that they consider leaving each other to go on a mission and to bring the same dedication and discipline to this mission that they bring to their everyday lives. This made leaving a little bit easier.

However, we will never really leave Mozambique. When our comrades climb a mountain, or cross a river, or sleep in the bush, or do any of the other things which are part of the routine life of the struggle — we shall be with them. Mozambique is in our hearts and our hearts are in Mozambique. Therefore the comrades will never be alone. Although our bodies may be elsewhere in the world performing a mission — our hearts will always remain in Mozambique.



The people of Niassa show their hospitality with gifts for the visitors.

VISITORS IN FREE MOZAMBIQUE

In November, 1971, we had the opportunity to visit the liberated zones in Cabo Delgado in Mozambique.

Our mission was to produce programmes for the Swedish Television to document an objective report about the reality in the liberated areas of Mozambique. Our main interest was focused on the different social aspects, how a new society is created, meanwhile the liberation war is going on.

As far as possible we wanted to get the possibility of identification with the Mozambican people, a possibility to identify the circumstances the people are facing, well aware about the wall in between their reality and that of the Swedish and western TV-audience. We wanted to break through the strange surface and the constant mistrust most people have towards everything that they feel as (or consider as) propaganda, dogmatic or not.

It is first when people start to recognise the reality and identify themselves in it they start to act.

We visited Mozambique for about two weeks. Together with FRELIMO we marched through wide areas of the liberated zones in the Province of Cabo Delgado. We saw with our own eyes how FRELIMO has built up new administration in these districts, the Portuguese were nowhere present but in the planes high above us or in some isolated posts. There was no doubt about that FRELIMO is the functioning Government of these zones.

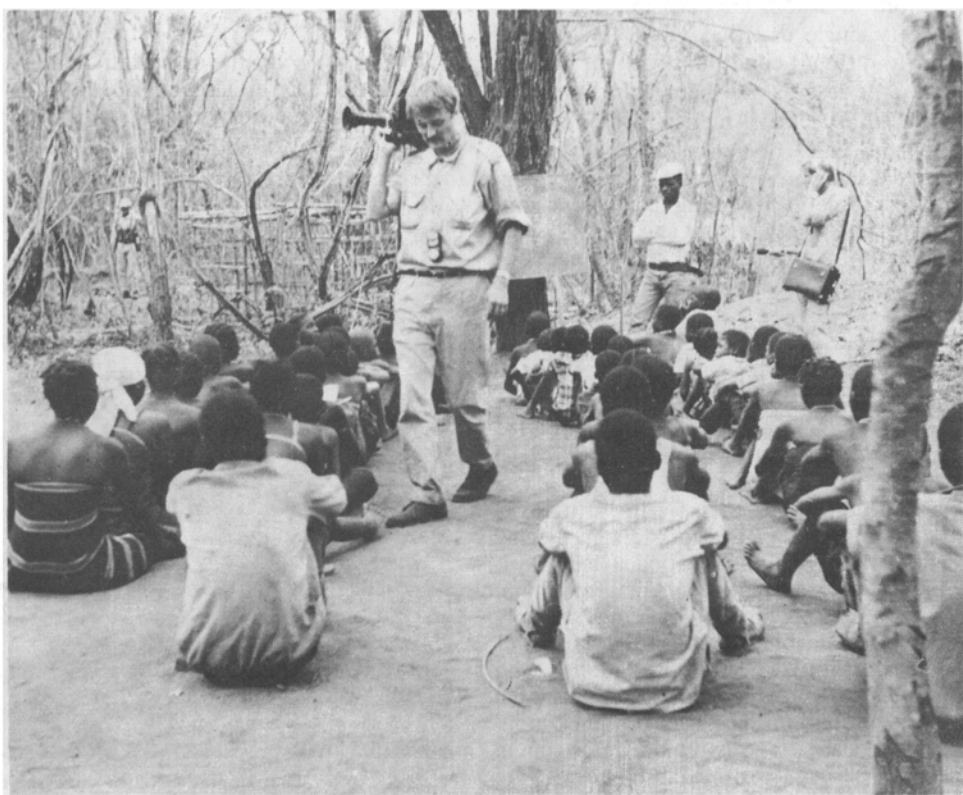
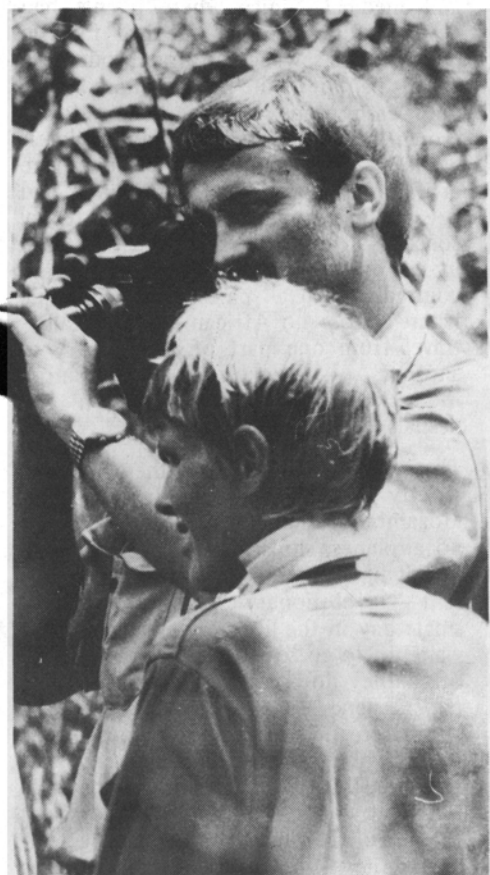
We visited administrative centres, military bases, civilian villages. We saw schools, hospitals, orphanages, co-operatives. Everywhere we found evidence of the consciousness of what the war is about: to fight the Portuguese colonialism, but perhaps still more important, to create new conditions for social life — health service, possibilities of education, all those things that create the base for an equal and human society, which the Portuguese have denied the Mozambicans for hundreds of years.

We have been in North Vietnam before and we can see many similarities between the Vietnamese war and the liberation war in Mozambique. For example the terror bombing of the civilian population, the creation of «strategical hamlets», the use of napalm, the isolation and desperation of the colonial enemy. In Mozambique we often heard during the nights how the Portuguese posts desperately fired their canons right out into the dark bush, without knowing any target.

The most important similarity however, is the consciousness and clearness of the people about the methods and the aim of the struggle. For us Swedes, who have not been involved in any war in 150 years, it can seem incredible that people can continue to work and live under those conditions, the bombing, the terror. But

Filming the new society

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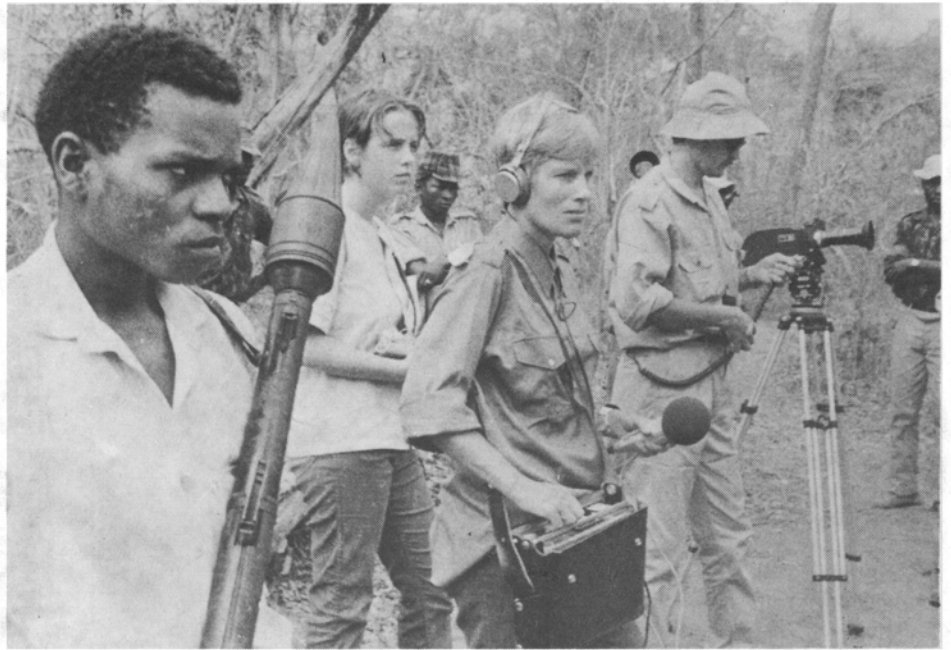


we didn't find any evidence of fear, hesitation or split up among the population. On the contrary, the war situation in Mozambique has created a firm unity and determination among the people. It is evident that the struggle of FRELIMO is the struggle of the Mozambican people.

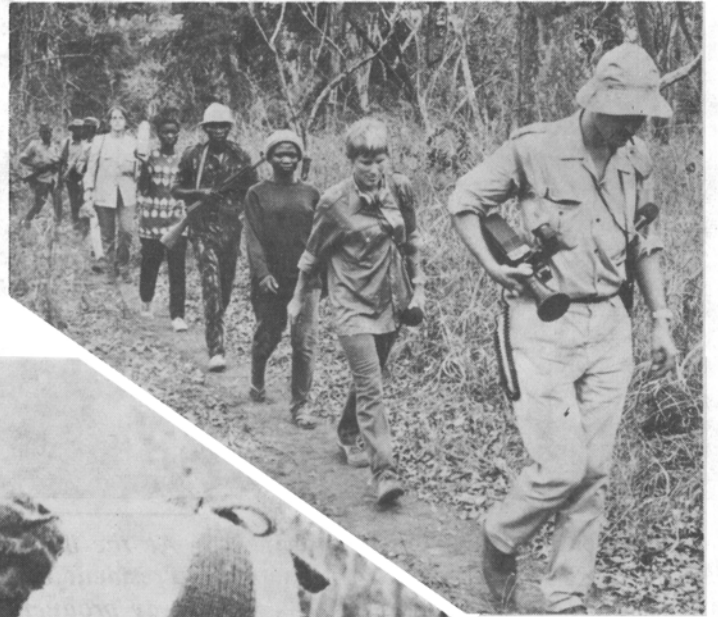
We have a large number of impressions about consciousness and determination. One example, comrade Vittorina, responsible for the orphanage in Ngapa district. Her calm clearness went straight into us. And we know that people in Sweden who will look at her in the television will understand that a part of the truth about the struggle can be read in Vittorina's eyes, her work — a matter of course.

In 1969 we visited the town of Beira, in the Portuguese administrated part of the country, to make a programme for the Swedish Television about the colonial structure. We were expelled out of the country after 4 days when the PIDE found out about our intentions. But anyhow we had time enough during these days to see with our own eyes the oppression and the humiliation the Mozambican people there are living under.

That was a very depressive experience. Now we have visited the free part of Mozambique. It was one of the finest experiences we have had in our lives. We are going to follow the development of the new society in Mozambique and hope to return to the free Mozambique.



At work
in Cabo
Delgado:
Lennart Malmer,
Ingela Romare,
and Maria Romare.



SOWING THE SEEDS OF LIBERATION



We shall soon be starting to prepare the land for new crops.

To many people production may seem a rite, a necessity, just something we are obliged to do in order to eat and clothe ourselves. It is true that production is aimed at satisfying our basic biological needs, but we also need it to free ourselves from poverty, to better know, control and use nature, and to educate ourselves politically. We are revolutionaries, our activities always have political meaning and content. Therefore our production, besides having an economic meaning and content, must have also political content.

In the enemy zone, under capitalism, under colonialism, there is also production. There too man wields the hoe to

At the beginning of the production cycle for 1971 - 1972, the President of FRELIMO (above), issued directives concerning the way production must be organised, its importance from the economic and social point of view, and its role in the political formation of the militants. This text was widely circulated to help guide the people during the production cycle.

break the soil. There too, on the factory machine — which we do not as yet have in our zone — man makes things. Yet we say that production in the enemy zone is exploitation, whereas in our zone production liberates man. But it is the same hoe, the same man, the same act of breaking the soil. Why then is there this dividing line? Almost everyone knows the G3 gun. In the hands of the enemy the G3 is used to oppress and slaughter the people, but when we capture a G3, it

becomes an instrument for liberating the people, for punishing those who slaughter the people. It is the same gun, but its content has changed because those who use it have different aims, different interests.

What use is made of the produce of a Mozambican peasant who grows rice in Gaza? Is it used to feed him, to satisfy his family's needs? To a certain extent perhaps. But what is certain is that out

of what he gets for his produce he has to pay the colonial taxes, taxes to pay the police who arrest him, taxes to pay the salary of the administrator who oppresses him, taxes to buy arms for the soldiers who will tomorrow drive the peasant off his land, taxes to pay for transporting and installing settlers who will occupy the peasant's land. The peasant produces to pay taxes. Through his labour, the peasant finances the oppression of which he is the victim.

Let us continue with the example of the peasant who grows rice. In order to live he needs other things apart from rice. He needs clothing. He needs oil. He needs many things which he has to buy in the shop. To buy he needs money, and money does not fall from heaven. This means that our peasant has to go and sell his rice to the store or company. He sells his things at low prices and buys at prices four or five times higher than what we sell for. Many metres of cotton cloth, many shirts, can be made out of one sack of cotton. When we sell a sack of cotton however, the money we get for the one sack is barely enough to buy one shirt. This means that what we produce, our sweated labour acting on the soil, benefits the companies, the traders who do nothing.

In the enemy zone these are the mildest, the least cruel forms of exploitation. There are others which are much worse. There is the sale of workers to the mines, the many strong young men who go off to the mines. Many die in mine disasters. More than 2,500 die in the mines each year. Others, we do not know how many, return without arms, without a foot, with their lungs eaten away by tuberculosis. The mineowners are the richest men in the world. The wealth extracted from the mines is sold at very high prices, but how much do the men who die in the mines earn? Along the Zambezi are the rich lands of Sena Sugar. Sena Sugar makes many thousands of contos a year.

But how much do those who work on the rich land of Sena Sugar earn? In the Moatize coal mines, in the Zambezia company's palm groves, in the Gurue tea highlands, everywhere Mozambicans are cultivating rich lands, building big buildings, making complex machinery produce goods, but nowhere is it those who work, who sweat over the soil, who risk their lives in mine shafts who benefit from their own labour.

In the enemy zone, manual labour, the labour that creates everything, is for the poor, for the «stupid». In the enemy

zone manual labour, physical labour, using the hoe, is for the «stupid», the «illiterate». The less a person works, the more educated he is, the less he works the more civilised he is, the more he exploits the labour of others and the more he is respected, the higher his status in society. Who can imagine a governor, a doctor, a general or a banker with his hands covered with callouses, his feet in the soil, sweating under the sun with the effort of hoeing? It would be thought dishonourable, shameful, low. In the enemy zone where the exploiters live like leeches off the labour of the exploited, in the schools, on the radio, at the cinema, everywhere is taught contempt for manual labour and veneration of the exploiters.

In our zone it is different. Here labour does not serve to enrich companies and traders, speculators and parasites. Labour is to satisfy the needs of the people and the war. This is why our production is the target of constant enemy attack.

In our zone labour is a liberating activity because the product of labour benefits the workers, serves the interests of the workers, i.e. it serves to liberate man from hunger and poverty and to advance the struggle. This is because in our zone we have abolished the exploitation of man by man, because what is produced is the property of the people, serving the people. We are producing in our own interest. It is in our interest to bring up healthy children, children free from disease, strong children free from hunger and rickets.

Through production we are contributing towards feeding our children and our people properly. By cultivating the land we are producing vitamin-rich foods. We are growing carrots, which have vitamins that are good for our eyesight. We are growing cassava, which has leaves rich in iron. We are growing an infinite number of crops, from maize to tomatoes, from beans to lettuces, which strengthen the body and which, owing to the very diversity and wealth of them, provide us with a diet which, because it is varied is not only more agreeable but is also a more balanced diet, in itself a defence against many diseases, making us more resistant. Moreover, the physical effort of especially agricultural production not only strengthens the muscles, hardening our bodies, but, because it keeps us in contact with nature, keeps us in the sun, which provides us with vitamins which are necessary for the body's resistance creating the conditions for us to enjoy good health.

At the same time, it is through production, by advancing it, and only through production that we will succeed in meeting our growing needs. In certain regions, because we are able to export our surpluses to friendly countries, the clothing problem has been attenuated. What we export provides us with the means to buy things we do not as yet produce.

Our needs in clothing, footwear and soap can be solved in only two ways. One is to step up our exports, thereby enabling ourselves to buy more. The second way, which is more effective but a long-term prospect, is to produce these goods ourselves. We are purposely talking about cloth, footwear and soap. The reason for this is quite simple. Our country, our cultivators grow the cotton from which the cloth is made. Craft production of cotton cloth is within the realm of our possibilities. We have the skins of cows, goats and many other animals, and such skins are used to make footwear. Craft production of leather and shoes is within the realm of our possibilities. We have the agricultural raw materials from which soap is made and experiments in Cabo Delgado have proved that we are in a position to make soap.

At the same time, increasing production through better use of our resources — using manure and irrigation, improving agriculture and livestock raising, etc. — is possible, as proved by experiments made at certain military bases and in pilot centres. Production therefore serves to solve the essential problems of a rich diet for health and to meet all our needs. This is why work is respected in our zone and why he who works is praised, while he who lives by exploiting the work of others is criticised, denounced, fought against and despised.

Through work we are also becoming more united, cementing our unity. If I am a Nyanja, and cultivate the land alongside an Ngoni, I sweat with him, wrest life from the soil with him, learn with him, appreciating his efforts, and I feel united with him. If I am from the centre and am with a comrade from the north, discussing with him how to use a plot of land, how and what to plant, we plan together, fight the difficulties together and share the joy of picking the ear of maize which has grown through our joint effort. I and that comrade are united, our liking for each other increases. If I am from the north and learn how to make a kitchen garden with a comrade from the south, how to water the fleshy red tomatoes, or if I am from the centre and

learn for the first time how to grow cassava with a comrade from the north, I am becoming more united with those comrades, tangibly living the unity of our country, the unity of our working class. With him I am destroying tribal, religious and linguistic prejudices, all that is secondary and divides us. Unity grows with the growing plant, with the sweat and intelligence we both mingle with the soil.

In FRELIMO we always emphasise the importance of production. To our army we give the tasks of fighting, producing and mobilising the masses. To our youth we give the tasks of studying, producing and fighting. In our discussions, in our documents, we constantly stress the importance of production, pointing out that this is an important front in our fight and a school for us. We can see that production is satisfying our everyday needs at the same time as liberating and uniting us. But we do not as yet see that production is a school, that we learn through production. Some people might be surprised that in our schools there are those who devote long hours to production, and that our army also has this task. These people might feel that this is absurd, that it would be more worthwhile for the pupils to spend this time reading books, attending classes, that the army's job is to fight and not to produce. But we also learn through production. Our ideas do not fall from the skies like rain. Our knowledge and experience do not come from dreaming in our sleep. Without ever having been to school, our illiterate peasants know more about cassava, cotton, groundnuts and many other things than the honourable capitalist gentleman who has never touched a hoe. Without knowing how to read, it is clear that our mechanics know more about car engines, how to assemble and repair them and how to mend broken parts, than the honourable capitalist gentleman who has never wished to soil his hands with motor oil. We see our «ignorant» masons, our «stupid» carpenters and labourers, so despised by the capitalist gentlemen, making beautiful houses, beautiful furniture which the honourable capitalist gentleman appreciates immensely and which he has no idea how to make. This clearly shows that we learn through production.

What we learn we do, and when we do, we see what is wrong. So we learn also from our mistakes and achievements. The mistakes show where there are shortcomings in our knowledge, weak points which have to be eliminated. This means

that it is in the process of producing that we correct our mistakes. Production shows us that if good tomatoes are going to grow in it, this soil needs more manure and this kind of manure, that there more water is needed. It was by making experiments which failed that our pupils learned how to make soap. It was by making soap that they improved the quality of the soap.

Production is a school because it is one of the sources of our knowledge, and it is through production that we correct our mistakes. It is by going to the people, that we both learn and teach the people. If our army did not produce, how would we have grown cassava in Tete when the people had no knowledge of cassava? If



A gift for passing guerrillas from a free peasant

we had contented ourselves with making speeches about cassava, would the cassava have grown? What better way of defending our production in Tete against bombing raids, chemical weapons and enemy incursions than diversification of production, introduction of new crops and crops which are resistant to enemy action?

How can the people improve their production methods, how can they know what is wrong and what is right, unless they produce. We are in the habit of saying that it is in the war that we learn war, which means in fact, that it is by carrying out a revolution that one learns how to carry out a revolution better, that it is by fighting that we learn to fight better and that it is by producing that we

learn to produce better. We can study a lot, but what use is tons of knowledge if not taken to the masses, if we do not produce? If someone keeps maize seeds in a drawer, will he harvest ears of maize?

If someone learns a lot and never goes to the masses, is never involved in practice, he will remain a dead compendium, a mere recorder who is able to quote by heart many passages from scientific works, from revolutionary works, but who will live his whole life without writing a single new page, a single new line. His intelligence will remain sterile, like those seeds locked in the drawer. We need constant practice, we need to be immersed in the revolution and in production, to increase our knowledge and, in this way, to ad-

vance our revolutionary work, our productive work.

The seed of knowledge only grows when it is buried in the soil of production of struggle. If we have already so greatly transformed our country, if we have won so many successes in production, education, health and combat, it is because we are always with the masses. We learn from them and pass on what we learn to them. We consistently apply what we know to production, correct our mistakes and enrich our knowledge. But we should not be satisfied.

Practice is not enough. One must also know, study. Without practice, without being combined with force, intelligence remains sterile. Without intelligence, with-

Well-kept vegetable plots like this are now a common sight in free Mozambique.



out knowledge, force remains blind, a brute force.

There are still many shortcomings in our work which we must and can correct. These shortcomings are a result of the insufficient use of intelligence in our work. All our shortcomings boil down to two aspects: political shortcomings and shortcomings in our scientific knowledge.

In many places we could produce more and better with less effort and with greater protection from enemy action. If we do not do so it is because we have not adopted our political line, because we are still strongly influenced by the individualism and corruption inherited from the old society. However energetic they may be and however hard they work, one man and his family cannot cultivate many small plots all at the same time. i.e. they cannot disperse the enemy's targets, in other words protect production. This man and his family cannot at the same time cultivate various plots providing different crops and, therefore, a richer diet. It is impossible for him to organise a system of guarding and protecting all the

plots, all the granaries, his house and the village from enemy incursions and looting. One man cannot do productive work and at the same time patrol various areas to watch out for the enemy and prevent surprise attacks. This means that individualism and the private property mentality, «I have my plot and my cattle, you have your plot and cattle, I have my granary and my house and you have your granary and your house», lead to defeats, making us lose the cattle, plot, house and granary.

Another serious consequence of a lack of collective spirit in production, of shortcomings in collective methods, is that this prevents us from learning from each other, from benefiting from mutual experience and knowledge. There was no progress in the past, because we did not discuss our knowledge and experience. The knowledge and experience passed on to us by our grandparents had become a dogma which no one discussed, and we remained sterile, without initiative.

Therefore, we leaders, cadres, fighters and militants must work hard to make the masses adopt and live by the collective

spirit, using collective methods of production, which will make it possible to enhance the spirit of collective living, thereby increasing the sense of unity, discipline and organisation. Adopting a collective consciousness in work means renouncing individualism and considering that all the cultivated plots belong to us, to the people, that all the granaries and houses are ours, the people's. It means that I must unite with others in a cooperative, in a production brigade. We will cultivate, harvest and stand guard together, and together we will protect that which belongs not to me or you, but to us. That field is not mine or yours, but ours. The pupil in the school, the soldier in the base and the patient and nurse in the hospital all have a collective consciousness. No one looks upon the school, the base or the hospital as their private property, and everyone therefore takes an enthusiastic interest in advancing the work in the school, base and hospital. As a result progress is made, the work advances and the enemy cannot so easily attack. Where there is a collective spirit, we are more organised, there is better discipline and a proper division of labour. There is also

more initiative, a greater spirit of sacrifice and we learn more, produce more and fight better, with more determination.

Other shortcomings are a result of superficial or even mistaken ideas on the laws which govern natural phenomena. These are shortcomings in our scientific knowledge. We often live near a source of water — a river or a well — waiting for rain for the crops, although there is water there which would solve our problems. Other times we go about complaining that the soil is poor, completely ignoring natural fertilisers, the animal and human manure which enrich the soil. We have the raw materials for making soap, yet we go on doing without soap. We can grow, spin and weave cotton and yet we go on doing without clothing. There are many examples, all of which show that our lack of scientific knowledge blinds us. The solution to a problem facing us is right under our noses and we do not see it, we do not have the courage to show initiative. We are fighting our insufficient knowledge through study, learning, discussion and practice.

There are comrades who look down on study because they do not know its value. Study is like a lamp in the night which shows us the way. To work without studying is to advance in the dark. One can go forward, of course, but at great risk of stumbling or taking the wrong path. At some bases, among some comrades, the regular habit has been established of devoting some time to study. This is good, but it is not enough. All leaders and cadres, together with the units must organise consistent and regular study programmes. Depending on the situation at least one hour a day should be devoted to study activities. Study should be organised in the spirit of collective work, collective consciousness, with small groups in which some teach others and everyone fights ignorance together. Because our starting point is a fairly weak one, we advise that in this first phase every effort should be made to raise the level of basic knowledge, especially by wiping out illiteracy in the units and among the cadres.

The Political Commissar, in co-operation with the Department of Education and Culture and working closely with the Provincial organisations, must organise the programme of fighting illiteracy and ignorance in such a way that each FRE-LIMO base becomes a base for fighting against obscurantism. Closely related to this programme should be a programme of seminars for comrades with higher scientific knowledge — agronomists, engineers,

mechanics, sociologists, nurses, etc. — to help raise the general level of knowledge of leaders and cadres in the districts and provinces. These should be specialised seminars on precise subjects such as irrigation, hygiene, mill construction, the introduction of new crops and the introduction of new production methods.

In this way our comrades will be able to relate their scientific studies to practice, and raise the level both of their own work and of the work of the masses. Soil without manure produces weak plants, but manure without soil burns the seeds and also produces nothing. Our intelligence, our knowledge, are like that manure. Manure must be mixed with soil, intelligence with practice. Because their very existence depends on exploiting us, capitalism and colonialism keep knowledge away from the masses, creating an educated elite which does not work and is used only to better exploit the masses.

We say that it is the workers who must have knowledge, who must rule and who must benefit from labour. This is what we say and practice. And this is why our Armed Struggle has been transformed into a Revolution, why everything is in constant transformation and we are liberating the creative energy of the masses. This, finally, is why the enemy hate us. Nothing exists without production, and

nothing exists without workers. The planes and bombing raids, the colonialist crimes, are aimed at keeping the workers producing for the capitalists, at keeping them exploited. The target of our bullets, the purpose of our struggle is, definitively, to end the exploitation of man by man, colonialism being its principal form in our country today. Our objective is to hand production over to the creative ability of the masses.

We are going to enter our eighth year of war. Next year we will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of our Front. We are growing a great deal, but to grow more, to meet the growing needs of the war and the people, it is essential that our production increase in both quantity and quality, that more things be produced in our country.

Revolution liberates man. It liberates his intelligence and his work. This liberation manifests itself in the development of our production, which serves the people, which serves the struggle. Therefore, at this time when preparations are being made in agriculture for sowing the crops of the new season, we say to all the comrades:

TO PRODUCE IS TO LEARN. LEARN IN ORDER TO PRODUCE AND STRUGGLE BETTER.



Poesia de Combate



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